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this later on. Later the child will be named according to circumstances; something about the child will suggest a name. Once in a while the first name is kept because it fits so well that the person "wears" it all the time. 551 553

Since the name relates to personality traits or to events, it is not necessarily a clue to the sex of its bearer.

When labor is excessively difficult or long delayed, and especially when sorcery is suspected, appeal is made to men or women who carry on still other ceremonies. One elder described such a rite which he had performed over a young woman. She had been in labor for about eighteen hours, and it was feared that "the baby would have to be killed and taken out in pieces to save her." In response to an urgent request from her relatives, the old man hurried to the camp with a helper. He prayed and drew a cross of black mineral substance on his helper's hand. He then directed his assistant to put his arm around the woman's body at various places and to press her gently while he began a ceremonial song of four verses. At the end of the second verse a boy was born—"born before I got through with one song." Great claims are made for these childbirth ceremonies and for these practitioners. "As soon as they touch the woman who is having a hard time, everything is made easy for her." 845 755 759

Nursing begins "as soon as the mother has milk." The colostrum is not differentiated from the milk secreted later. Concerning frequency of feedings, it was said, "I have seen that, when women have babies, as soon as they cry the mothers give them the breast." "The women boil up lots of bones and make a soup right away. They say that makes lots of milk and pure milk." If the mother's milk does not flow at once, the child is not fed the first day. If she is unable to nurse the child on the second day, it is given a little water. Should she still lack milk on the third day, the child is nursed by a mother's sister or other close relative. 853 [602]

From the mother a Spartan attitude is expected. "Women didn't lie around as they do now; they got up soon afterward." "I saw T.'s wife. She has had many children. Today she has a baby; tomorrow she is around doing something. Some lie down for an hour maybe. The next day they are up." But most con- 846 147 846

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CHILDHOOD

13 852

When the baby is from a week to a few months old, his mother 304
or his maternal grandmother pierces his ears. To do this she ap- 856
plies something hot to the ear and then punctures it with a strong
thorn or a sharp bone. The child learns "to hear things sooner" [828]
and obeys more quickly if this is done promptly. "When the
ears are not pierced, the child cannot be controlled; he will be
wild and go to the bad. It is believed that children grow faster
too if this is done." Pendants of white beads or turquoise are [301]
strung from the ears of very young children, and this mode of
ornamentation continues throughout life.

Sexual intercourse between a man and his wife is not resumed 834
until the child has been weaned. During this period of almost [862]
three years the couple is expected to remain continent. Actually [837]
some men contrive to "sneak around" and "find easy women"
with whom to have relations. But social pressure operates to en 834
force this rule of continence strictly in the majority of cases. A 626
man so importunate as to demand connection with his wife too
soon is subject to sharp criticism and is said to have acted
"against" his growing child. "There is a man whose child is not
walking yet, and his wife is pregnant. The Indians think he is no
good. We are ashamed to have a second child on the way before [163]
a first is weaned."

Because the mother's milk supply has been stopped or altered 853
by her new pregnancy, the nursing infant is "starved" and upset 852
and is likely to become a weakling. In such an emergency an- 843
other minor rite is arranged: [856]

> There's a hair-cutting ceremony that I'm going to tell you about. Let us say a child is only a year old and the mother is pregnant again while that child is still nursing. Then the little child that is only a year old is sick; it has stomach trouble. Something must be done for that child.
>
> When this happens, the mother usually takes the child to an old woman or someone who knows what to do. This old woman cuts the child's hair and puts red paint over the child's body. Then she gives it some kind of medicine. [755]

Polygyny, though it is not widely practiced, exists, and a man 595
with more than one wife "is in a good position, for when one of 834
his wives is pregnant or has a nursing child, he can go to the
other."

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854 Once the child is old enough for the cradleboard, it becomes his almost permanent home for a number of months. This continuous stay in the cradle causes a slight occipital flattening of the head. The baby is laced in tightly and is removed only occasionally. He may even be left in the cradle while he is nursed. He does have to be taken out when the soft grass, moss, or pulverized wild-rose bark, used as padding and as absorbent material for the discharges, needs renewing. To prevent chafing, the child is dusted with powder scraped from the bark of the heart-leafed willow. A very young child is bathed in a decoction obtained by boiling the plant *Drymaria fendleri* "to make the skin strong."

854 As the child becomes more active and restless, beads and jingles of various kinds are strung from the canopy to engage his attention. After he is six or seven months old he is allowed more time outside the cradle and crawls vigorously around the camp.

854 During this crawling stage the child must be carefully watched, lest he come in contact with baneful substances which 753 can cause sickness—worms, certain insects, and feathers from 825 evil birds such as the owl or the crow. Dogs are considered particularly inappropriate in a camp where there is a small child.

If you have a little child crawling around and suddenly a dog barks at it and scares it, they say that the fright will go inside that child and make its heart sick. So they don't like dogs around much. If you have one, some man might come along and say, "Why do you have that dog around? Don't you know it is no good? It might scare your children and make them sick."

766 When a child is stillborn or dies while it is being carried in the cradle, its body is hastily buried in a talus slope and is covered by rocks, branches, and earth. The cradle, if it has already been made, has a different destination:

They take the cradle and cut it so it will be recognized; cut slits in the buckskin, for instance. They hang it up in a tree which stands to the east of the encampment where the death took place. No one will dare to touch it. It is forbidden to touch it. If the cradle is still around the camp, it is hung out at the child's death even though the child is already walking when he dies. Sometimes the cradle is put in a place in a bluff.

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852 The minutiae of the ceremonies differ, but a composite de-
302 scription, distilled from some half-dozen separate accounts, re-
756 duces to the following elements. Pollen from cattail or from one
788 of a number of other sources is applied to the cheeks and head of the child four times and scattered clockwise to the cardinal directions. Then his hair, with the exception of one or more locks, is closely cropped. Meanwhile the shaman prays for his long life and good health. The shaman may cut off a lock of his own and mix it with the shorn hair, saying, "May this child's hair be as thick as mine." The hair is usually placed in a fruit-bearing tree with this prayer, "May many seasons come and the child live long." The pollen on the child's face is not removed but is allowed to wear away. Each boy and girl should undergo this ceremony at least once. Ideally, the rite should be repeated for four successive springs, with the same individual officiating.

862 It is about this time that weaning takes place. Gradually, as
[853] teeth appear, the child is introduced to light foods so "it will not be so hungry and demand the nipple so much." Sometimes the baby is simply forced away from the breast and given to understand that he must henceforth depend on other food. More often something sour or peppery, like chili, is put on the nipples. The child is told that the milk "is this way now" and rapidly loses interest in nursing.

SURROUNDINGS

596 The household into which the child is born is one of a cluster
621 of elementary families related through the maternal line. Near
361 an older man and woman reside their unmarried sons and daughters, their married daughters and the sons-in-law, their daughters' daughters (married and unmarried), and their daughters' unmarried sons. The number of separate dwellings varies according to the size of the group and the ages and marital status of the individuals involved. Each daughter, upon marriage, occupies a
[591] separate dwelling with her husband. Ordinarily, an unmarried son lives in his parents' household, but an adult unmarried son might have his own adjoining dwelling.

596 It is with the members of this maternal extended family that

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name of the child of the one he is addressing. In discussing anyone, great care is taken to say nothing critical or abusive concerning him before his parents or his children. One man told of a series of fights he initiated by uttering the remark, "Your father is messy around the ankles." He knew very well in advance what the consequences of that observation would be. In a Coyote story the trickster, after being skinned and jeered at for having a "red shirt," retaliates against his tormentors by shouting, "It's your father who has a red shirt!"

Despite the affection and regard which mark the parent-child relationship, it must not be forgotten that discipline and authority are the prerogatives of the father and mother. The daughter, especially, is conditioned to lifelong obedience to parental edicts.

Four terms, the equivalents of father, mother, son, and daughter, serve to express the parent-child relationship. The term for father can refer to no one else. The mother, likewise, is distinguished from her siblings. The parent-child terms differ from others of the kinship system in two particulars. First, they are not self-reciprocal; that is, the same term that is addressed to the son by the father cannot mean father when the son is speaking. Second, each term expresses one relationship only and is not extended to include collateral relatives.

Uncle, aunt-nephew, niece relationships.—Of tremendous importance in the child's life are the maternal uncle and aunt. The mother's sister is likely to be present at the child's birth. She may volunteer to nurse the baby if she has milk and the mother has not enough. She is a permanent member of the mother's extended domestic family. A girl will have intimate contact with this relative throughout life; a boy, at least until his marriage and departure from the encampment. In case the mother dies, this woman may be called upon to adopt or care for her sister's children. She may elect to marry their widowed father[11] and so become their stepmother. Or, since sororal polygyny is practiced, if she is younger than her sister, she may become the second wife of her sister's husband and, by a different route, attain the

[11] See pp. 421–25.